

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-08 INR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-03 NSC-05 IO-06 SP-02 PA-01 NSAE-00 L-01 /056 W
-----076717 020314Z /61

R 011705Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3676
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 03351

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM, UNGA, UK
SUBJECT: UNSSOD: SECURITY ASSURANCES FOR NON-NUCLEAR
STATES

REF: LONDON 2889

1. DURING INFORMAL DISCUSSION FEBRUARY 28, HEAD OF
FCO'S ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT DEPARTMENT (MALLABY)
ELABORATED ON DISCUSSION TAKING PLACE WITHIN HMG OF
POSSIBLE FORMULATIONS ON NEGATIVE ASSURANCES TO NON-
NUCLEAR STATES (REFTEL).

2. FIRST, HE RESTATED PROPOSED ASSURANCE FORMULATION
ALONG LINES THAT NUCLEAR STATES WOULD PLEDGE NOT TO
USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST ANY NON-NUCLEAR STATE
THAT HAD RENOUNCED NUCLEAR WEAPONS (NOTE 1), EXCEPT
IN THE EVENT OF AN ATTACK ON ITS TERRITORY OR ARMED
FORCES, OR THAT OF ITS ALLIES (NOTE 2), BY A NON-
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NUCLEAR STATE WHICH IS IN ALLIANCE OR ASSOCIATION WITH
(NOTE 3) A NUCLEAR STATE.

3. RE NOTE 1 ON RENUNCIATION, BRITISH FAVOR THIS
FORMULA OVER REFERENCE TO NPT ADHERENCE ON GROUNDS
THAT IT WOULD CAST THE NET WIDER: SOME STATES MAY
BE MORE READILY ENCOURAGED TO AGREE TO FULL FUEL-CYCLE

SAFEGUARDS UNDER IAEA THAN TO ACCEDE TO NPT. ON BALANCE, IN UK VIEW, THIS WOULD BE EQUALLY SATISFACTORY FOR WESTERN NON-PROLIFERATION INTERESTS. STATES COULD MAKE UNILATERAL INTERPRETATIONS OF WHAT RENUNCIATION ACTUALLY MEANT, ALTHOUGH HERE MALLABY ASSUMED THAT ALLIES WOULD CONSULT TO PRESENT REASONABLY SOLID FRONT.

4. RE NOTE 2 ON SCOPE OF ATTACK, FCO IS DEBATING WHETHER TO TALK GENERALLY OF AN "ATTACK" BY NON-NUCLEARS OR SPECIFICALLY OF ATTACK ON ARMED FORCES AND/OR TERRITORY OF UK AND/OR (SPECIFIED) ALLIES. ARMS CONTROLLERS WITHIN HMG ARE ARGUING FOR LATTER APPROACH, WHICH THEY BELIEVE IS MORE PRECISE AND THUS WOULD HEIGHTEN IMPACT OF HMG'S ASSURANCE. IN THE END, BRITISH WOULD NO DOUBT GO ALONG WITH US PREFERENCE ON THIS DRAFTING POINT (AND PROBABLY OTHERS ON WHICH WE HAVE STRONG VIEWS).

5. RE NOTE 3 ON "ASSOCIATION." BRITISH HAVE CONSIDERED USE OF PHRASE SUCH AS "IN LEAGUE WITH," WHICH HAS CRIMINAL CONNOTATION AS USED IN BRITISH MEDIA, BUT NOW PREFER "ASSOCIATION," WHICH WOULD ALLOW HMG A WIDER DEGREE OF FLEXIBILITY IN ACTUAL EVENT.

6. UK IS HOPEFUL THAT ALL NUCLEAR POWERS WILL BE ABLE TO AGREE TO SOME FORM OF "NEGATIVE" ASSURANCE AT CONFIDENTIAL

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UNSSOD. ALLIED STATEMENTS, IN EVOLVING UK VIEW, SHOULD BE SIMILAR BUT NEED NOT BE IDENTICAL.

7. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH SOURCE DID NOT SAY SO, FCO UNDOUBTEDLY INTENDS NEGATIVE ASSURANCES TO FORM CENTERPIECE OF PRIME MINISTER'S UNSSOD PRESENTATION, AND WILL BE MOST INTERESTED IN RECEIVING EARLY WASHINGTON VIEWS ON SUBJECT.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SECURITY, NONALIGNED NATIONS, NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, DEFENSIVE CAPABILITIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 01 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978LONDON03351
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780094-1049
Format: TEL
From: LONDON
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197803120/aaaadxzg.tel
Line Count: 104
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 8bc7d1ba-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: 78 LONDON 2889
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 25 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3158588
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: UNSSOD: SECURITY ASSURANCES FOR NON-NUCLEAR STATES
TAGS: PARM, UK, UNGA
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8bc7d1ba-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014